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NEW CRUCIAL DECISION IN FOREIGN POLICY CONFRONTS EISENHOWER, DULLES, NATION

As President Eisenhower returns to his desk, and as Secretary Dulles returns from Geneva, a crucial issue confronts them and the nation: Whether our foreign policy shall be substantially revised in light of recent developments in Soviet policy and in events in the Middle East, Asia and Africa; whether the United States will undertake a considerably increased program of overseas aid, information and technical assistance.

The question may be put in these alternatives: Will the United States by vastly increasing our efforts in overseas programs of economic, social, psychological, ideological and political nature, thus take new initiative in the world struggle? Or, will the United States in concentrating on efforts to balance our budget by maintaining the present level of overseas aid or even by cutting it back, let such initiative pass to the communist forces by default?

The question is not now a matter of idealistic theory but of utmost realistic urgency because of several developments: The selling of arms to Egypt at fractional cost by Czechoslovakia, presumably with U.S.S.R. approval, connected with the U.S.S.R.'s offer to finance the Nile River development and other projects in Egypt and elsewhere. The unrest about Cyprus including the highly organized riots in Turkey against Greeks and the subsequent estrangement between those two members of NATO. The North African crises with violence and bloodshed. (In both of the above series of events some would raise questions as to possible communist influence.) The trade offensive in the Middle East, Africa and Asia by the Soviet Union and her satellites, accepting barter, buying at higher and selling at lower prices, thus undercutting free world traders; in recent sales to Egypt of insecticides from East Germany, freight cars from Poland, diesel hydraulic engines from Hungary, in turn, American, British and French business were outmaneuvered. The establishment of a Russian information center and permanent trade show in Cairo. The encouragement of visits of Egyptian reporters and doctors to Russia and her satellites, with them reporting in glowing terms on their return home. In these ways, concentrated now on Egypt, some observers see a developing Soviet communist thrust into the volatile areas of the Middle East, with increasing penetration to come in North Africa and that whole continent and across southern Asia. Meanwhile, a Russian policy statement by the Soviet Ambassador in Cairo lends (to page five)

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CHURCHES PUT FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE IN PERSPECTIVE, AVOIDING EXTREMES

Written while the Foreign Ministers Conference is in session, this article cannot be an appraisal, but it may suggest some approaches to an appraisal.

On the basis of the background of the churches in international affairs and positions they have taken, the following observations may be made: Before the Conference, the churches had a real concern, hoping that if there were any possibility of some specific steps being taken toward further international cooperation for justice and peace, the representatives would approach such possibilities with flexibility and good faith. Informed church leaders were not however, naive and overly optimistic, being aware of something of the complexity of the issues and the possible implications in recent Soviet tactics to make the cold war at least temporarily a cold peace. Both before and during the Conference, the churches have given their continuing concern and prayer.

Whatever the results of Geneva, the churches will face them with stability and a continuing concern to make the maximum good for peace and justice out of the specific situations then obtaining; they will not be in the ranks of those cast from the heights of optimism to the depths of despair; nor will they be the demagogues claiming foresight as well as hindsight, who will declare that all the time they knew better than the President and Secretary of State what the United States should do. As a matter of fact, if the results of Geneva are generally negative in terms of agreements, that can have real values: To show clearly the issues for what they are; to show which nations stand for what specific positions; to show where integrity and sincerity are to be found in the search for justice and peace; to show again the function of quiet, continuing diplomacy as over against settings of international debate conducive to propaganda more than to agreements; to illustrate the need for increasing use of the United Nations and its facilities for working at the problems of international relations.

By way of illustration of the concern of the churches before the Conference, on the eve of the meeting, October 26, by unanimous vote, the Committee on Policy of the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches, sent a message to Secretary Dulles. It assured him of the prayers and concern of the churches for the work of the conference. The message was cast in realistic terms. While recognizing that there had been a somewhat more friendly international atmosphere recently, especially since the Geneva Conference in July, it noted "that the basic issues dividing East and West have not been resolved." One of the continuing concerns of the churches was expressed in the hope that any results from the Conference might be related insofar as possible to the ongoing work of the United Nations. The message said in part: "Representing many denominations and areas of our land, we pray for you, your associates, and all who share in the tremendous responsibilities of this conference. We would also express to you the continuing concern of the churches respecting questions on the conference agenda." Replying from Geneva, Secretary Dulles expressed his gratification for the message, as heartwarming and encouraging to him.

The continuing concern of the churches throughout the Conference has been expressed by the presence in Geneva of Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, Director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. As part of its extensive program, the C.C.I.A. seeks to have a representative at the place of important international conferences where issues of concern to the churches are under consideration. In such settings, with the experience and achievements of C.C.I.A. as background, there are opportunities to convey the views of the churches on such issues. Particularly significant for this conference and the probable referral of the question of disarmament to the United Nations subcommittee for further work is the action of the C.C.I.A. and the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches last summer in a series of proposals for disarmament and peaceful change.

CALL TO ACTION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BY WALTER VAN KIRK HIGHLIGHTS CHURCH ASSEMBLY

Calling for more informed and more specific action by the churches in world affairs, Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, Executive Director of the Department of International Affairs, addressed the annual Assembly of the Division of Christian Life and Work of the National Council of Churches, in Cleveland, October 31. Recognition was given at this occasion to Dr. and Mrs. Van Kirk for his thirty years of service with the Federal and National Council of Churches in international affairs. Among other things, he said:

"The peace which now prevails is only a precarious peace and Christians, among others, contemplate with horror the fate that would befall mankind should a global war fought with nuclear weapons break loose upon the world. But Christians are not in despair. Neither iron curtains, nor bamboo curtains, nor blackout curtains drawn across the windows of a frightened world will suffice to discourage Christians in their effort to establish world justice and peace. It remains to devise the strategy by which they shall carry forward their peace endeavors."

Declaring that peace cannot be won with slogans, signing of peace pledges, nor negotiating pacts to renounce war, Dr. Van Kirk emphasized that Christians must engage in effective actions for the developing of peace. "It may be hoped that by now the churches have learned that if peace is to prevail the conditions of peace will have to be established. It is not enough for the churches to resolve about the wickedness of war....The time has come for Christians, while holding fast to the absolutes of their faith, to roll up their sleeves and work for peace; to support policies designed to establish justice....and to exercise their influence in the halls of government, in legislative assemblies, and in the conference chambers of international negotiation...."

"Thus it is," he said, "during the past two decades the strategy of the churches has been to hold fast to the faith delivered unto them by Jesus of Nazareth, while at the same time they move into the political arena, where with vigilance and perseverance, they seek to influence those decisions of government that offer promise of making the difference between peace and war...."

"What now?" Referring to the Conference of heads of state in July, he said: "The skies that were bright over Geneva have darkened....This turn of events has come as a surprise only to those who indulge in the vain hope that a few smiles and a few handshakes will suffice to span the ideological and political chasm between East and West. The new era.... is different from the pre-Geneva era only in the sense that the likelihood of global war in the foreseeable future has been somewhat lessened. Basic differences of policy and ideology were not settled at Geneva. Nor are these differences likely to be wholly resolved for many decades to come...."

"It is now to be demonstrated whether the nations of the West have the imagination, the daring, and the capacity for political adaptation required to transform the era of the cold peace into the era of a just and lasting peace. The determination of this matter will depend, in part, upon the witness that will be borne by the churches in the area of government action." He listed among the imperatives of that witness: Fuller support and use of the United Nations; reduction and regulation of armaments; international cooperation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy under aegis of the UN; fuller programs of economic aid and technical assistance, both bilateral and in cooperation with others through the UN; having the United States identify itself with the aspirations of subject peoples for self government. He also posed the question whether it is time for representative Christians in the United States to confer with responsible Jewish and Arab leaders on the Israel-Arab problem. This point was particularly emphasized in press coverage by the New York Times and other newspapers.

IMMIGRATION HEARING BY SENATE COMMITTEE, STARTS NOVEMBER 21; OPPORTUNITY FOR CHURCHES

Announcement was made by Senator Harley M. Kilgore, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, of public hearings by them beginning November 21. Subject: Fundamental national policies in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, experience under the Act, and study of pending bills to amend it.

The General Board of the National Council of Churches on October 6, reaffirmed the position of 1952 calling for revision of the McCarran-Walter law and authorized appropriate testimony. Staff members have been cooperating with other voluntary agencies, Jewish, Roman Catholic and secular, in the American Immigration Conference to make effective preparation for the hearings. Also, a communication was sent to all constituent Protestant and Orthodox communions of the National Council about the hearings, the action of the Board and the position of the National Council, indicating the opportunity and responsibility for testimony by those communions which have authorized such action.

Arrangements have been made for the President, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, to testify on the opening day of the hearings on behalf of the National Council of Churches. Meanwhile, in related actions, the United Church Women, in connection with their Assembly in Cleveland the week of November 7, authorized testimony. Their new President, Mrs. T. O. Wedel, will testify for their unit of the National Council.

Coming on the eve of election year, these hearings have particular significance. Both parties have spoken for liberalizing the present law; both have been conspicuous by inaction on it. These hearings afford opportunity for widespread expression of public opinion, with possibility of some action in the coming session of Congress. It is important that all church groups having a concern, should offer the strongest possible testimony through a witness in person, or in written form, for the hearing record. All contacts should be made directly: Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, Room 449-B, Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C. Telephone: National 8-3120, ext. 1612. The hearings have been scheduled for: November 21 and 22; November 28 through December 2; probably the week of December 5.

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE HONORS UNITED NATIONS REFUGEE AGENCY

Award of the Nobel Peace Prize was made this year to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The sum of \$35,066 will go into the UN Refugee Emergency Fund, established in 1951 to protect racial, religious and political refugees. Its Director is Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, an Amsterdam editor, formerly Dutch Minister of Justice.

The work of the office of The High Commissioner of Refugees includes problems of resettlement or integration in new homelands of about 350,000 refugees left in Europe by World War II, and providing for legal and social safeguards for about two million refugees throughout the world. In accepting the Nobel Prize, the Director called it a stimulant to speeding action on the refugee problem, "one of the greatest human tragedies of the twentieth century." He posed the challenge: "Today there are still hundreds of thousands of refugees who are in need of international protection and of our assistance in finding a permanent solution to their problem."

Contrasts to the above award and statement are seen in two quarters: 1) On the day of the award, a supplementary pledging session for this program was held at UN, New York headquarters; only 23 nations sent delegates; none was prepared to commit his government to supplementary contributions for 1955; of the current budget of \$4,200,000, only \$2,543,640 is in prospect. 2) Some U.S. Congressmen and Senators wish to make each year of this program its last, despite the continuing need.

NEW CRUCIAL DECISION (continued)

eight to such concern. He told reporters that the U.S.S.R. had decided to offer industrial and agricultural equipment to all Arab and Asian countries wishing such. The Ambassador, Daniel Semyonovich Solod, said: "We will send economic missions, scientific missions, agricultural missions, meteorological missions and any other mission you can imagine that will help these countries." The U.S.A. has done much more than the U.S.S.R. in these fields in the East, outstripping in performance the Soviet promises. But in this new communist economic offensive there are larger promises and actual programs under way, or in negotiation, in India, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Burma, Indonesia, Jordan, Ceylon and Pakistan. Also, attractive trade deals are being offered to such countries as Burma, Indonesia, Syria, as well as Egypt.

RUSSIAN POLICY AND PLANS PRESENTED

Another development was the celebration of the 38th Anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, marked this year by a de-emphasis on armaments, both in activities and in words, and a strong emphasis on economic and international affairs. Apparently a major declaration of Soviet policy for this year, the address of the first Deputy Premier and economic expert, Lazar M. Kaganovich, emphasized economic gains and international programs, in prophesying that communism will triumph in this century.

Another event intensifying the total crisis is that plans are now under way for visits through South Asia by Bulganin and Khrushchev. In part these are return visits for those made to Russia by Nehru of India and U Nu of Burma. These Asian visits are planned, say the Russians, for "strengthening further the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union with the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan, and with the peoples of the entire East."

ARE CONCURRENT EVENTS PART OF COMMUNIST WORLD-STRATEGY?

Some observers see an ominous pattern in all these concurrent developments: A new Soviet thrust into the Mid-East, Africa and Asia, at the same time they are engaged in another period of diplomatic friendliness apparently concentrating on problems in Europe. Much of the world's attention has been drawn to the Foreign Ministers' conference where the U.S.S.R. has to date rigidly maintained most of her total former position, thus making for stalemate and the fixing of further attention on these problems. Yet all the while, the U.S.S.R.'s effort actually seems concentrated not on Geneva but on its thrust into the Middle East and toward Africa and Asia.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNIST OFFENSIVE?

Although arms to Egypt got the headlines, the totality of the words and deeds of the communists in these recent weeks should clarify once again the nature of the basic communist offensive being waged. It is not primarily military. It is primarily economic, social, psychological, ideological and political. It cannot be met primarily by military means. It can be met and overcome fundamentally only by economic, social, political, psychological, ideological and political means.

The danger of wholesale war between the Arabs and Israel is real but at the present time not likely, (much as the communists might welcome it), with the West seeking to avert conflict. But in Soviet tactics focussing attention on this level of the struggle, they have, for many, confused the issue as to the basic nature of their offensive in that part of the world, both as to the kinds of offensive they are waging and as to the fact that it is not confined to the Arab-Israel area but spells potential penetration into Africa and Asia.

Even though it may prove eventually that the Soviets are promising more than they can perform, which will then be in our favor, it is essential now for our nation to avoid present losses in international initiative. Rather than weakening our own position in the Middle East, Africa and Asia at this time, we must strengthen it. This we can do by proving ourselves to be the real friend of those nations, willing to help even more extensively than heretofore those who will help themselves. This is not to be conceived as any attempt to buy international friendship, which cannot be done. Rather, it is a way of proving our real concern and purposes as we expand our programs of economic aid, information services and technical assistance. At the same time, it is a realistic way of meeting the communist offensive being intensified throughout those parts of the world. (to page 6)

NEW CRUCIAL DECISION (continued)

WILL THE PRESIDENT PROPOSE A COURAGEOUS NEW PROGRAM FOR WAGING PEACE?

Facing all this, it may supposed that the President and Secretary of State with their grasp of the whole picture, having spoken out against an arms race in the Middle East may now wish to propose a courageous move by our government to expand vastly our peace offensive overseas, especially in the Middle East, Africa and Asia. The budget picture is that in a conflict not primarily military but economic, social, psychological, ideological and political, we are putting about ten times more money each year into the military aspects of the struggle. Admitting the necessity for adequate military defenses at home and abroad, the question remains as to what we shall do or fail to do in other ways in this new, more dynamic and dangerous situation of "competitive coexistence." It is conceivable that in the strong international leadership which President Eisenhower holds, he may again take bold initiative as he did in his atom-for-peace and his armaments inspection proposals, this time setting forth a proposal for a new and expanded program led by our nation for economic aid, information services, and technical cooperation for the waging of peace throughout the world and particularly in the Mid-East, Africa and Asia.

THERE IS SOME OPPOSITION IN GOVERNMENT TOWARD SUCH CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMS

Two previous efforts for expansion of our overseas constructive program during the present administration were frustrated. Also, the trend since 1953 has been to cut this type of program. There is likely to be further such effort in the election year to balance the budget and possibly even cut taxes.

Opposing forces to an expanding creative program are evident in some quarters in agencies of the administration and in Congress. While certain advisors have counselled the President as to the feasibility and necessity of more adequate U.S. overseas programs, it is reported that other advisors oppose such action. Some of them, it is reported, are hopeful of a foreign aid cut next year, indicating that they have the impression that the free world is not only holding its own in such efforts but is gaining. Some congressmen are saying again that U.S. foreign aid should be curtailed, and if possible, ended. A member of the House appropriations committee handling foreign aid bills, has said he is aiming for another cut of at least half a billion dollars. That sub-committee already last year slashed a half billion dollars from the foreign aid requested by President Eisenhower at that time. That same congressman is reported as saying that he thinks our nation should end both the military aid and technical assistance parts of our overseas program.

WHAT WILL THE CHURCHES AND CHURCH MEMBERS DO?

Confronted with such a possible cross-roads in United States foreign policy, what will the churches do now? They have consistently supported programs of economic and social aid, of technical assistance and of strengthening democratic ideas among the peoples of the world. They have advocated more, not less, appropriations for such purposes. They have indicated that such undertakings should be thought of, not simply as temporary, emergency, post-war programs, but as a long term part of U.S. responsibility for world leadership. They have emphasized that such curative and creative programs should increasingly be done in multilateral, cooperative ways as through the United Nations.

Will the churches and church people now, through all possible channels such as letters, telegrams, phone calls and personal contacts, communicate to the President, the Secretary of State, the key cabinet members and advisors to the President, and their Congressmen and Senators the convictions of the churches and of Christians on this issue? Or will double default -- the default of the churches with subsequent default of the government -- let the initiative in the world struggle increasingly pass to the communist powers? What will our churches, our President and our nation do with regard to the now more dangerously posed threats, at the economic, social, psychological, ideological and political levels, in the battle for the minds and souls of yet unwon hundreds of millions of people in our world?

WHAT ARE YOU DOING? REPORTS OF COMMUNIONS, COUNCILS, CHURCHES INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONCERNS STRESSED IN UNITED CHURCH WOMEN'S ASSEMBLY

Speakers, study groups, and resolutions at the seventh annual Assembly of United Church Women highlighted Christian concerns in international affairs during their program November 1-10 in Cleveland, Ohio.

Speakers repeatedly urged concern for the underprivileged areas of the world, for a more dynamic expanding program of economic aid and technical assistance, and for more understanding and cooperation with the peoples of the world who are in revolution seeking independence and freedom. Among internationally famous speakers who addressed the Assembly was the former U.S. Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles. He compared the revolution now in progress among subject peoples in Asia and Africa with the American Revolution of 1776. He said this is essentially American in inspiration and is based on the "positive revolutionary ideas of our tradition" -- ideas which he traced back to Jefferson and to Lincoln. He portrayed these peoples of the world in their aspirations, as colonies demanding their freedom, races wanting equality, and the underfed wanting economic justice. Political leaders of both parties, he said, have failed so far to recognize how Americans would "enthusiastically support" policies of dynamic, expanding assistance for these freedom-seeking peoples of the world.

In a message, based on preparation and work groups there, on the theme, "The Working of His Power," the United Church Women set forth a 13-point program calling for fuller support for the world mission of the church, dealing in specific terms with human rights, freedom, disarmament, the peaceful use of atomic energy, and political responsibility on the part of Christians; urging thorough revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act; and expressing opposition to universal military training and censorship of motion pictures. It is hoped that the next issue of the Newsletter may carry a report of the text of some of these actions.

FLOOD VICTIMS IN EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN AIDED BY CHURCH WORLD SERVICE

When word of September floods in East Pakistan came to headquarters, Church World Service sent \$3,000 from undesignated funds and made available surplus foods. In later, worse floods in West Pakistan, CWS carried out more extensive relief. An immediate grant of \$7,000 was sent, surplus foods were given and advice asked as to further needs. Dr. Stuntz, CWS representative there cabled two messages:

"DEVASTATING FLOODS IN WEST PAKISTAN MORE THAN TWO MILLIONS HAVE LOST HOUSES CLOTHING FOOD CATTLE STOP ABOUT ONE HUNDRED FIFTY THOUSAND CHRISTIANS INVOLVED STOP RELIEF COMMITTEE REQUESTS YOU SEND US TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS, TEN THOUSAND BLANKETS TWO THOUSAND BALES USED CLOTHING FIVE HUNDRED TONS DRIED MILK FIVE HUNDRED TONS BUTTER OIL FOR FLOOD CONTROL STOP LETTER FOLLOWS."

"SIZE DISASTER GROWS WITH NEWS FROM FLOOD AREAS STOP MEDICAL SUPPLIES URGENTLY NEEDED SULFADIAZINE SULFAGUANADINE ANTIMALARIAL STOP AIRLIFT ALL POSSIBLE."

The Director of Church World Service, Dr. R. Norris Wilson, having already sent a half million vitamin tablets, immediately called the Hoffman-LaRoche Corporation who donated 100,000 gantrisin tablets (a more effective substitute for sulfadiazine), the Lederle Company who gave 100,000 sulfaguanadine tablets, and Winthrop-Stearns who contributed 100,000 mefloquine anti-malarial tablets. Every request of their representative in Pakistan has now been met by CWS. These actions of CWS parallel those rendered to India in the recent flood there. They further illustrate the efficiency of CWS, its ability to step into emergencies, and its continuing need for funds contributed by churches and church members.

RESOURCES: Study Leaflet, Study Booklet, Manual

STUDY LEAFLET: "No Islands Any More" is the intriguing title of an attractive study leaflet of 12 pages, with set back edges, styled in red and grey. Specific topics presented include: "Atoms for Peace," "Disarmament," "Refugees," "World Trade and Economic Development." Each section carries a background statement on The Situation, Questions for Discussion, and Readings. In addition, there is a page of suggestions for using the leaflets, with general questions, and some readings in the over-all field of international affairs. This material has been so appealing that it is now in second printing. It has been necessary to raise the cost from 15¢ to 20¢ per copy. It is a good buy at the higher price, as well, and is a helpful piece for study groups in churches and for individual use. It is published by the General Department of United Church Women of the National Council of Churches. Order from the P & D Department, National Council of Churches, 120 East 23rd St., New York 10, N. Y.

STUDY BOOK: The United Nations: New Perspectives, by Alfred J. Hotz sets the work, the problems and potentialities of the UN in a perspective of history, particularly in relation to international political history. In 71 pages are nine brief chapters on such subjects as "The National Interest and the Power Struggle," "Traditional Instruments and Channels of International Politics," "Early Attempts at World Organization," "The UN and Collective Security," and "Basic Conditions of Peace." There are suggestions for Community Groups. This is an added resource with a particular perspective for groups studying such subjects. The Author, Dr. Hotz, is Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Western Reserve University and a member of the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches. Cost: 35 cents per copy. Published by Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

MANUAL: Political Action Handbook has been published for citizens who wish to take such responsibilities more seriously. Presented on the basis of the wide and intensive experience of the Friends Committee on National Legislation on the Washington scene and in work at the grass roots across the country, this booklet should prove to be a most useful tool. It is particularly commended to individual Christians and church groups who want "to do something about" the issues confronting our country in its domestic and foreign policies. It shows, step-by-step, how bills become laws and what can be done to affect developing legislation at various stages. It gives a model of letters one may most effectively write to his representatives in Washington. Cost: 15¢ each. At that price, it would be advisable to order copies for all members of a social action committee, for a whole church school class or society, or for a whole congregation to make for more responsible and informed Christian citizenship among churches and members. Published by Friends Committee on National Legislation, 104 C Street, N. E., Washington 2, D.C.

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